The Two-Child Norm in Indonesia

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November 1999

This report presents findings from one of three further analysis projects undertaken as part of the follow-up to the 1997 Indonesia Demographic and Health Survey (IDHS). Macro International Inc. coordinated the project and provided technical assistance. Funding was provided by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

The IDHS further analysis project is part of the MEASURE *DHS+* program which is designed to collect, analyze, and disseminate data on fertility, family planning, and maternal and child health. Additional information about the MEASURE *DHS+* program may be obtained by writing to: MEASURE *DHS+* , Macro International Inc., 11785 Beltsville Drive, Calverton, MD 20705 (Telephone 301-572-0200; Fax 301-572-0999)

Recommended citation:

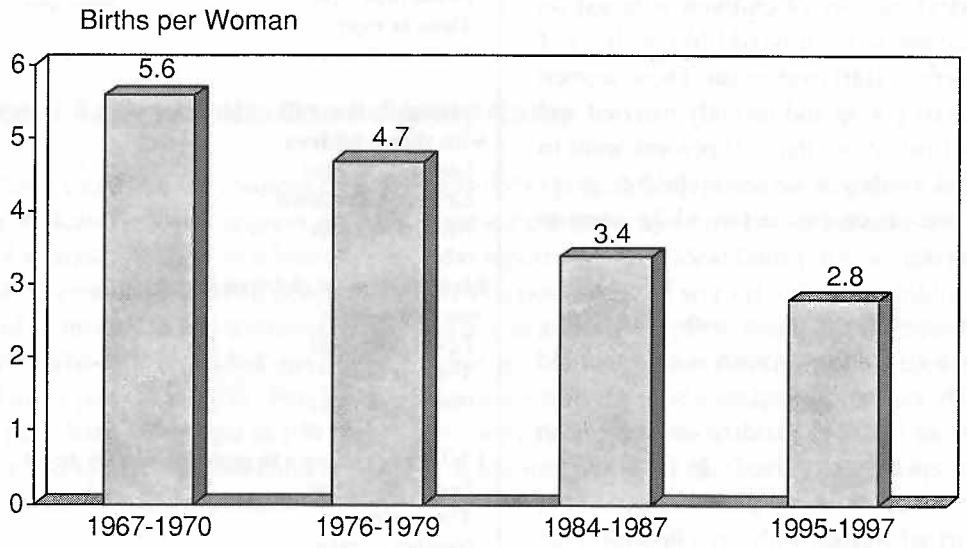
Permana, Ida Bagus, and Charles F. Westoff. 1999. *The Two-Child Norm in the Indonesia*. Calverton, Maryland: State Ministry of Population/National Family Planning Coordinating Board and Macro International Inc.

1 Population Policy

With a population of more than two hundred million people, Indonesia is the world's fourth most populous country after China, India, and the United States. Indonesia has experienced two contradictory population policies. From the time of independence in 1945 until mid-1960s, the government was strongly pro-natalist, stressing that a large national population was needed to fully exploit the potential of the natural resources of the country. This situation changed as the New Order Government came to power, particularly after President Suharto joined other heads of state in signing the Declaration of the World Leaders in 1967. In this declaration, rapid population growth was considered an obstacle to socio-economic development. A total policy reversal was signaled when the president established a government agency, called the National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN), which is responsible for coordinating family planning programs in the country. The twin goals of the programs were to promote the norm of a "small, happy, and prosperous family," and to reduce fertility through promotion of contraceptive use. The quantitative aim of the government population policy has been to achieve replacement level fertility, by vigorously promoting the two-child norm, by the year 2010-2015 (State Ministry of Population, 1999), and to reach zero population growth by the year 2050 (Djoko Rusmoro et al., 1997).

The national family planning programs have been very successful in reducing the fertility rate in the country. The fertility rate has been declining rapidly and steadily, from a Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of 5.6 in the period 1967-1970, to 4.7 in 1976-1979, to 3.4 in 1984-1987, and to 2.8 during the period of 1995-1997 (Figure 1). However, it can be seen that the decline of fertility has slowed somewhat during this decade; i.e., the TFR has declined from 3.0 in 1988-1991 to 2.9 in 1991-1994 (CBS, 1998). Nonetheless, in less than three decades the TFR in Indonesia has been reduced by half. Moreover, four provinces in Indonesia have reached a TFR of or close to replacement level, i.e., Yogyakarta (1.9), DKI Jakarta (2.0), Bali (2.1), and East Java (2.3) (CBS, 1998).

Figure 1
Total Fertility Rates for Women 15-49, Indonesia
1967-1997



2 Analytical Objectives and Measures

The main objective of this analysis is to describe the characteristics of currently married women who want to have no more than two children. Fertility has been declining significantly in Indonesia for the last three decades and, given the demographic importance of achieving replacement level and the ultimate goal of population stabilization, it is important to determine whether the two-child norm is clearly emerging and to characterize the women who are in the advance of this new trend. In brief, we want to be able to distinguish women who wish to stop at two children from those who prefer larger families. Are women who prefer small families more likely to live in cities, to be more educated, to be employed, to live in certain regions of the country, to have greater economic assets, to be more exposed to the mass media, and so on? By examining these and other possible covariates we hope to be able to develop a profile of the leading edge of the fertility transition in Indonesia. We also want to document the trend of this preference over the last decade or so.

The data for this analysis are derived from the Indonesia Demographic and Health Surveys in 1991, 1994 and 1997. These three surveys are the basis for the evaluation of trends in reproductive preferences but only the most recent survey will be used for the analysis of the covariates of the two-child norm.

There are several measures of the two-child preference that can be constructed from the DHS data. We have developed six indicators, all based on the responses of currently married women (Table 1):

(1) The percent of women with less than two children who report their ideal number as less than three children. In Indonesia in 1997, 61 percent of the women in this category wanted less than three children. The ideal number of children is based on the number women would like to have if they were to start over again. These women tend to be young and recently married and the fact that more than 60 percent want to stop before they have three children gives some indication that a two-child norm is developing.

(2) The percent of women with two living children (including women with one child who are currently pregnant) who say that they want no more children (or have been contraceptively sterilized). In Indonesia in 1997, such women comprised 52 percent of all married women with two children. This is another indication that a small family norm is emerging.

Table 1 Percent distribution of six indicators of the two-child norm among currently married women, Indonesia, 1997

Indicator	Percent
Ideal number of children for women with less than two children	
Fewer than three	60.8
Three or more	39.2
Number of cases	8,413
Reproductive intentions of women with two children	
Wants more	42.3
Wants no more	51.8
Undecided	6.0
Number of cases	6,730
Ideal number of children for women with two children	
Fewer than three	50.1
Three or more	49.9
Number of cases	6,765
Wanted status of third birth for women with three children	
Last birth wanted	88.1
Last birth unwanted	11.9
Number of cases	2,276
Ideal number of children for all married women	
Fewer than three	39.1
Three or more	60.9
Number of cases	26,886
Children ever born to married women 40-49	
Fewer than three	21.3
Three or more	78.7
Number of cases	6,459

(3) An alternative measure of reproductive preferences can be derived from the question on the ideal number of children. Following the same logic as in Measure 1, we have defined Measure 3 as the percent of women with two children who report their ideal number as less than three children. A total of 50 percent of two-parity women are in this category. Measures 2 and 3 show a close relationship. Almost all of the two-parity women who want no more children report an ideal number of children less than three.

(4) Not all women have controlled their fertility successfully so that a significant proportion move on to the next parity unintentionally. In Indonesia in 1997, 12 percent of women with three children reported that they had not wanted any more children after their second birth. This category included currently pregnant two-parity women who were asked about the planning status of their pregnancy. This is an underestimation of the true proportion because the planning status of the last birth was only determined for births that occurred in the past five years. The measure distinguishes between women with three children who wanted that number and those who would have not had the third child if their preferences had prevailed.

(5) The ideal number of children for all married women regardless of parity is a standard measure of reproductive norms. Almost 40 percent of the women express a preference for fewer than three children.

(6) A more behavioral measure of the two-child norm is the actual proportion of women who do stop at two and who can reasonably be considered to have completed their childbearing. This variable is defined as women 40-49 years of age with fewer than three children ever born. About 21 percent of the women of this age are in this category. Of course, some of these women will have another child either intentionally or unintentionally, but they should be a small fraction. On the other hand, some women are subfecund and might have had more than two children if it had been possible. This measure provides more of an historical perspective of the emergence of the small family norm than the other measures described here.

The first part of the analysis examines the trends in these measures between 1991, 1994 and 1997. The second part describes the association of specific characteristics with each of these six measures. This is then followed by a multivariate analysis that seeks to identify those characteristics that are statistically independent of the other covariates.

3 Recent Trends in the Small Family Norm

We have examined the changes over the 1991-1997 period. Except for the first and second measure, all four other indicators clearly support the idea of growing popularity of the two-child family (Table 2). The percentage of women with two or fewer children who report that their ideal family size is less than three has risen from 48 percent in 1991 to 50 percent in 1997. The percentage of women with three children who report their last child as unwanted has increased from 8 percent in 1991 to 12 percent in 1997. The percentage of all married women who state their ideal number of children as less than three rises from 36 percent in 1991 to 38 in 1994, and to 39 percent in 1997. Finally, among women 40-49, the percentage who have had two or fewer children has risen from 18 percent in 1991 to 21 percent in 1997. Thus, most of the evidence seems to support a continuing trend toward the two-child norm even across the period of six years.

Table 2 Recent trends in the two-child norm among currently married women, by selected indicators, Indonesia, 1991-1997

Indicator	1991 IDHS (%)	1994 IDHS (%)	1997 IDHS (%)
Ideal family size			
Two or fewer	62.1	60.7	60.8
More than two	37.9	39.3	39.2
CMW with < 2 children	6,174	7,518	8,413
Want more children			
Yes	41.6	42.5	42.3
No	51.8	51.6	51.8
Undecided	6.6	5.9	6.0
CMW with 2 children	4,802	6,322	6,730
Ideal family size			
Two or fewer	47.7	49.3	50.1
More than two	52.3	50.7	49.9
CMW with 2 children	4,833	6,357	6,765
Last child wanted			
Yes	92.5	88.1	88.1
No	7.5	11.9	11.9
CMW with 3 children	1,986	2,503	2,276
Ideal family size			
Two or fewer	36.3	38.2	39.1
More than two	63.7	61.8	60.9
Currently married women	21,109	26,186	26,886
Children ever born			
Two or fewer	17.5	17.8	21.3
More than two	82.5	82.2	78.7
CMW aged 40-49	4,613	5,855	6,459

CMW = Currently married women

4 Characteristics of Women Who Want Two Children

As shown in Table 3, preferences for fewer children are strongly associated with residence. Women in Java and Bali tend to prefer fewer children compared with women in other provinces. For example, more than 70 percent women of parity two or less in the provinces of East Java, Yogyakarta, and Bali want no more children and have an ideal number of less than three children. It is interesting to note that although family planning programs in North Sulawesi were launched five years after these in Java-Bali, women in North Sulawesi prefer small families, similar to those of women in Java-Bali.[1] In contrast, a preference for the two-child family does not exist at all in such provinces as Dista Aceh and East Timor.[2] In these provinces, only 15 and 11 percent, respectively, of two-parity women have an ideal number of less than three children. However, in East Timor the percent of women 40-49 who have fewer than three children ever born is quite high (24 percent), comparable to those in Java. This is consistent with, but not fully explained by the relatively late age at marriage and age at first birth of women in East Timor.[3]

Women living in urban areas are only slightly more likely to prefer two children than those in rural areas (for five of the six indicators). The greatest difference is for the percentage of three-parity women who report that their third birth was unwanted (18 percent in cities compared with 10 percent in rural areas).

[1] Family planning programs in Indonesia were not initiated simultaneously throughout the country. In 1970, the programs started in the 6 provinces of Java and Bali, and five year later they covered other 10 additional provinces in Indonesia (called Outer Java-Bali I). In 1980 the five programs were expanded to include the remaining 11 provinces, known as the Outer Java-Bali II region.

[2] At the time this paper was prepared, East Timor was a province of Indonesia. As a result of the referendum carried out by the United Nations on August 30, 1999 East Timor has become independent of Indonesia.

[3] The median age at first birth was highest in the province of East Timor. For example, the median age at first birth among women age 40-49 in this province was about 26 years compared with about 20 years for all women (CBS, 1998).

Table 3 Percent of currently married women indicating support for the two-child norm, by selected background characteristics, Indonesia, 1997

Background characteristic	CMW with < 2 children	CMW with 2 children		CMW with 3 children	All CMW	CMW 40-49 years old
	% with ideal family size < 3	% who want no more children	% with ideal family size < 3	% who did not want last birth	% with ideal family size < 3	% with < 3 children ever born
REGION/PROVINCE						
Java-Bali						
DKI Jakarta	64.6	50.6	52.8	15.9	44.5	24.1
West Java	51.4	44.1	38.8	9.5	30.2	22.6
Central Java	63.6	57.5	54.0	10.1	45.3	24.2
DI Yogyakarta	80.5	75.2	75.7	34.2	63.2	31.1
East Java	78.7	72.5	71.8	31.7	62.7	32.5
Bali	84.5	77.9	77.2	17.3	65.7	28.8
Outer Java-Bali I						
Dista Aceh	23.7	22.2	15.2	1.8	10.6	15.7
North Sumatra	27.0	31.4	28.1	2.9	15.0	7.5
West Sumatra	43.1	36.4	35.1	7.6	23.9	8.5
South Sumatra	53.2	31.0	36.6	6.0	27.5	9.8
Lampung	66.4	40.7	40.8	7.6	35.4	8.4
West Nusa Tenggara	52.2	28.5	27.1	2.7	27.5	7.2
West Kalimantan	50.2	41.5	38.8	6.4	26.6	12.2
South Kalimantan	56.2	43.0	35.3	3.2	33.4	16.8
North Sulawesi	82.3	67.7	72.7	3.0	58.2	27.0
South Sulawesi	47.9	27.0	32.4	1.9	24.8	17.4
Outer Java-Bali II						
Riau	48.3	28.6	33.4	7.7	25.2	7.9
Jambi	59.2	40.5	43.6	7.9	33.6	17.1
Bengkulu	46.6	37.6	44.2	6.6	28.8	8.7
East Nusa Tenggara	34.4	29.5	29.8	5.0	20.5	13.2
East Timor	13.2	16.6	11.5	0.0	6.0	24.2
Central Kalimantan	52.5	44.2	38.7	1.2	30.9	20.1
East Kalimantan	61.7	51.7	59.1	13.7	42.3	12.6
Central Sulawesi	59.9	33.9	35.3	3.4	32.8	14.2
Southeast Sulawesi	41.9	31.6	29.8	3.3	23.2	9.4
Maluku	43.2	33.3	34.3	4.9	22.8	13.8
Irian Jaya	41.9	43.3	36.4	2.6	23.3	14.4
Urban-rural residence						
Urban	60.1	54.9	53.8	17.6	41.6	22.9
Rural	61.0	50.6	48.7	9.6	38.1	20.6
Number of women	8,413	6,761	6,761	4,880	26,881	6,454

CMW = Currently married women

Table 4 shows, as expected, that the percent of two-parity women who want no more children increases with the age of the woman. The association with age is weaker for the ideal number in the two-parity group but for women at all parities the two-child ideal is progressively greater among younger women. This is probably both a sign of the transition to preferences for smaller families in the younger generation as well as a reflection of the longer exposure to childbearing of the older women.

Table 4 Percent of currently married women indicating support for the two-child norm, by selected background characteristics, Indonesia, 1997

Background characteristic	CMW with < 2 children	CMW with 2 children		CMW with 3 children	All CMW	CMW 40-49 years old
	% with ideal family size < 3	% who want no more children	% with ideal family size < 3	% who did not want last birth	% with ideal family size < 3	% with < 3 children ever born
Age						
15-19	67.3	35.3	45.7	(0.0)	66.2	NA
20-24	61.2	34.1	39.7	4.7	54.8	NA
25-29	64.4	36.7	44.1	10.8	47.5	NA
30-34	59.6	55.6	54.6	9.4	38.6	NA
35-39	53.8	63.2	59.2	15.8	31.2	NA
40-44	48.3	80.6	55.9	29.9	26.6	NA
45-49	41.7	82.0	50.3	22.7	20.4	NA
Age at first marriage						
<20	61.5	50.7	48.6	8.9	36.7	17.8
0-24	60.7	53.3	53.6	17.8	43.6	22.8
25+	56.9	55.8	51.8	17.1	46.6	48.8
Woman's education						
No education	49.6	57.2	48.7	8.6	27.6	24.6
Primary	60.3	51.7	48.5	12.4	37.5	18.7
Secondary	64.6	49.1	53.3	11.3	46.9	23.2
College or higher	61.6	58.5	54.0	17.0	52.2	40.9
Husband's education						
No education	55.4	53.6	47.3	6.9	27.9	18.5
Primary	60.0	53.4	49.5	12.8	37.0	20.8
Secondary	62.7	49.2	51.8	11.0	44.7	23.1
College or higher	60.2	50.1	48.3	13.4	42.6	24.2
Woman's employment						
Not working	62.1	47.5	48.9	12.9	40.6	21.6
Agriculture	54.3	52.9	48.2	9.7	31.6	18.5
Non-agriculture	62.3	59.2	53.9	10.9	42.0	23.8
Husband's employment						
Agriculture	57.1	52.9	49.0	8.7	34.6	17.7
Non-agriculture	62.9	50.5	50.6	14.0	42.2	24.0

Note: Figure in parentheses is based on less than normally 25 unweighted cases.
CMW = Currently married women
NA = Not applicable

Women who marry at later ages tend to prefer fewer children. This preference is reflected in the strong association between the proportion of women who marry at later ages and the number of children they actually have. Nearly 50 percent of women who married at age 25 or older have fewer than three children compared with only 18 percent among women who married at age less than 20.

Most of the measures of the two-child norm increase with the woman's education and, to a lesser extent, with the husband's education. There is some suggestion that both women and men who work in agriculture are the least committed to a two-child norm.

Table 5 shows the relationship of the two-child preference with various types of material possessions. In general, the possession of an item increases the preference for smaller families but the association is not consistent for all indicators and is very weak. The one exception is having electricity in the home, which shows a stronger relationship consistently for all six indicators.

Table 5 Percent of currently married women indicating support for the two-child norm, by economic indicators, Indonesia, 1997

	CMW with < 2 children	CMW with 2 children		CMW with 3 children	All CMW	CMW 40-49 years old
Economic indicator	% with ideal family size < 3	% who want no more children	% with ideal family size < 3	% who did not want last birth	% with ideal family size < 3	% with < 3 children ever born
Has electricity						
No	55.4	41.7	40.9	6.5	32.2	18.3
Yes	62.1	53.8	52.0	13.3	40.8	22.0
Has radio/tape recorder						
No	59.0	48.1	46.0	11.2	36.5	21.7
Yes	61.8	53.6	52.2	12.2	40.4	21.1
Has TV						
No	60.6	51.3	49.9	12.0	39.3	21.6
Yes	61.9	53.9	51.2	11.1	38.2	20.1
Has refrigerator						
No	60.8	51.8	49.8	11.6	39.1	20.7
Yes	60.3	52.0	52.1	13.9	39.0	25.0
Has bicycle						
No	57.5	50.5	47.0	10.1	37.4	22.8
Yes	64.4	52.8	52.7	13.4	40.6	20.1
Has motorcycle/boat						
No	60.3	51.7	49.9	11.3	38.2	19.1
Yes	62.4	51.9	50.7	13.5	41.8	27.8
Has car						
No	61.2	51.4	49.9	11.5	39.2	21.2
Yes	51.4	59.7	55.5	19.5	37.2	22.8

CMW = Currently married women

Table 6 explores the connections between preferences for the two-child family and exposure to the mass media (radio, television, and the print media). It also looks at whether messages about family planning have been heard or seen. There is evidence that general exposure to newspapers, television, and radio is associated with preferences for smaller families. Exposure to these media has been summed into a scale ranging from zero (no exposure to any of the three) to a score of 3 (exposure to all three media). This index shows a positive and consistent association with preferences for a two-child family.

Table 6 Percent of currently married women indicating support for the two-child norm, by exposure to mass media, Indonesia, 1997

Exposure to mass media	CMW with < 2 children	CMW with 2 children		CMW with 3 children	All CMW	CMW 40-49 years old
	% with ideal family size < 3	% who want no more children	% with ideal family size < 3	% who did not want last birth	% with ideal family size < 3	% with < 3 children ever born
Reads newspaper at least once a week						
No	58.8	51.0	48.5	10.7	36.4	20.4
Yes	65.5	53.8	54.4	15.1	47.1	24.7
Watches TV every week						
No	49.8	48.3	43.1	9.5	29.3	19.0
Yes	63.5	52.5	51.6	12.5	41.8	22.1
Listens to radio every day						
No	55.9	52.3	48.4	9.4	35.1	19.5
Yes	64.9	51.3	51.7	14.6	43.1	23.5
Heard FP on radio last month						
No	61.7	52.6	50.6	13.3	39.5	20.5
Yes	57.8	49.2	48.7	7.7	37.6	24.4
Heard FP on TV last month						
No	61.4	53.3	50.7	13.9	39.4	21.3
Yes	59.8	49.5	49.3	9.1	38.6	21.4
Read FP in newspaper						
No	60.8	51.7	49.5	11.7	38.5	20.7
Yes	60.8	52.3	54.8	12.8	43.8	26.4
Saw FP poster						
No	60.2	51.5	49.3	11.6	38.2	21.1
Yes	65.6	54.5	56.8	14.3	48.1	24.2
Mass media index						
0	45.0	47.8	41.0	6.8	26.1	17.4
1	59.0	52.8	49.4	10.9	36.5	20.2
2	63.5	51.0	50.6	12.4	42.3	22.9
3	68.4	54.0	56.0	17.3	48.9	25.6

Note: The *mass media index* sums exposure to newspapers, television, and radio based on a scale of 0 to 3.
CMW = Currently married women
FP = Family Planning

Exposure to messages about family planning also shows a tendency to be associated with a small family preference but the pattern is very weak and not consistent. Curiously, the small family norm seems more associated with *not* having been exposed to family planning messages on the radio or television. On the other hand, it is associated in the expected direction with exposure to the print media and to posters. The multivariate analysis should clarify this inconsistency.

5 Multivariate Perspectives

Table 7 shows the simultaneous effects (odds ratios) of various background characteristics or covariates on each of the six indicators. The odds ratios are shown only for associations that are statistically significant ($p < 10$). Controlling for the effects of other variables, province continues to be a strong predictor of preferences for the two-child family. Four "leading" provinces in Indonesia in terms of two-child preference are Yogyakarta, East Java, Bali, and North Sulawesi. Women with fewer than two children in these four provinces are at least twice as likely to report an ideal number of fewer than three children, compared with women in DKI Jakarta (the reference category). Similarly, women with two children in the provinces of Central and East Java, Yogyakarta, Bali, and North Sulawesi are 1.7 to 3.9 times more likely to want no more children compared with those in DKI Jakarta. This is generally true for the other indicators as well. Women with three children in Yogyakarta and East Java are 4 to 5 times more likely to report their third birth as unwanted. In fact, women 40-49 in East Java are twice as likely to have fewer than three children compared with women in DKI Jakarta.

On the other hand, except for North Sulawesi, all other provinces outside Java and Bali are more likely to prefer larger families. Women in DKI Jakarta (the reference category), for example, are 6 to 11 times more likely to prefer an ideal number of less than three compared with women in East Timor and Dista Aceh. Provinces with relatively similar characteristics with DKI Jakarta are Central Java, Lampung, Jambi, and East Kalimantan.

In brief, compared with DKI Jakarta there are five provinces in Indonesia that show relatively "better performance" in terms of the two-child family—Central and East Java, Yogyakarta, Bali, and North Sulawesi—while 21 provinces are generally less likely to prefer fewer children.

Three of the six indicators show that women who live in rural areas are less likely to prefer smaller families but two of the six show the opposite association. It is not entirely clear, for example, why older rural women compared with urban women are more likely to have fewer than three children, which is the reverse of what was observed in the bivariate analysis (although the association is very weak). The reversal of sign is the result of considering the other covariates simultaneously; holding constant age at marriage in particular appears to play a major role in this reversal.

With regard to ideal family size, younger generations tend to prefer fewer children. For example, for all currently married women, teenagers (the reference category) are twice as likely to report an ideal number fewer than three compared with women 20-24, and 10 times more likely compared with women 45-49. On the other hand, as would be expected, older women tend to want no more children. Similarly, older women with three children are more likely to report their last birth as unwanted compared with women 15-24 (the reference category for that variable).

Controlling for the effects of the other variables, age at first marriage seems to have a weak and inconsistent association with regard to preference for fewer children. On the other hand, while education of men has no significant effect, the number of years of schooling for women appears to have a strong and positive association with preference for fewer children. Generally, a one-year increase of women's schooling appears to produce a 2 to 5 percent increase in the probability of having a preference for a smaller family size.

Table 7 Odds ratios for significant effects for six indicators of the two-child norm, by selected background characteristics, Indonesia, 1997

Background characteristic	CMW with < 2 children	CMW with 2 children		CMW with 3 children	All CMW	CMW 40-49 years old
	Ideal family size < 3	Want no more children	Ideal family size < 3	Did not want last birth	Ideal family size < 3	< 3 children ever born
REGION/PROVINCE						
Java-Bali						
West Java	0.54		0.66		0.60	
Central Java		1.76			1.30	
DI Yogyakarta	2.28	2.89	3.07	3.99	2.69	
East Java	2.30	2.92	3.02	4.92	2.98	2.09
Bali	2.90	3.88	2.92		2.64	
Outer Java-Bali I						
Dista Aceh	0.16	0.38	0.20		0.15	
North Sumatra	0.20	0.54	0.38	0.18	0.23	0.23
West Sumatra	0.37	0.62	0.57		0.41	0.30
South Sumatra	0.56	0.65	0.60		0.49	0.37
Lampung					0.77	0.32
West N. Tenggara	0.55	0.49	0.45		0.49	0.25
West Kalimantan	0.52		0.67		0.49	0.43
South Kalimantan	0.67		0.61		0.71	
North Sulawesi	2.21	1.68	1.91		1.53	
South Sulawesi	0.47	0.43	0.52	0.16	0.43	0.55
Outer Java-Bali II						
Riau	0.45	0.56	0.52		0.44	0.27
Jambi					0.66	
Bengkulu	0.43				0.55	0.32
East N. Tenggara	0.33	0.39	0.36	0.24	0.31	0.27
East Timor	0.09	0.20	0.11		0.07	0.40
Central Kalimantan	0.52				0.51	
East Kalimantan	0.78					0.48
Central Sulawesi	0.73		0.58		0.57	0.43
Southeast Sulawesi	0.33		0.47		0.37	0.28
Maluku	0.37		0.44		0.32	0.28
Irian Jaya	0.39		0.49		0.35	0.36
Rural residence	1.25	0.80	0.87	0.58		1.34
Age						
20-24	0.74			a	0.54	NA
25-29	0.81			2.70	0.37	NA
30-34	0.66	2.16			0.25	NA
35-39	0.50	3.01		2.35	0.19	NA
40-44	0.41	7.36		4.16	0.14	NA
45-49	0.33	8.43			0.10	NA
Age at first marriage		0.98		1.09	1.05	1.12
Years of schooling	1.02	1.05	1.05		1.04	
Husband's years of schooling						

continued

Table 7—*continued*

Background characteristic	CMW with < 2 children: Ideal family size < 3	CMW with 2 children: Want no more children	CMW with 2 children: Ideal family size < 3	CMW with 3 children: Did not want last birth	All CMW: Ideal family size < 3	CMW 40-49 years old: < 3 children ever born
Woman's employment						
Agriculture	0.81*	0.83	0.86		0.91	
Non-agriculture	0.84		0.84	0.63		
Husband's employment						
Agriculture	0.65				0.70	0.45
Non-agriculture					0.71	0.62
Has electricity				1.64		
Has radio/tape recorder	0.84	1.15		0.61	0.92	0.72
Has television						
Has refrigerator		0.74				
Has bicycle	1.09	0.78				0.69
Has motorcycle/boat	0.83	0.68	0.72		0.87	1.65
Has car	0.60			1.92	0.82	
Reads newspaper	1.28	1.2		1.81	1.20	
Watches TV	1.40				1.31	
Listens to radio	1.35		1.12	2.09	1.22	1.31
Heard FP on radio				0.49		1.39
Heard FP on TV				0.63		0.82
Read FP in newspaper						
Saw FP poster						
R^2	0.177	0.239	0.170	0.268	0.258	0.157
Number of cases	7,636	5,953	6,421	2,515	26,814	6,429

CMW = Currently married women
FP = Family planning
NA = Not applicable
[a] Since the number of CMW aged 15-19 with 3 children is very small (3 unweighted cases), the first grouping of age is 15-24 and is used as the reference category.

Interestingly, controlling for the effects of other variables, women who are not working (the reference category) are more likely to prefer smaller families compared with women who are working, either in agriculture or non-agriculture—although the effect is not very strong. This is also true for men's employment, although only three of the indicators show a significant effect.

The association between material possessions and preference for a small family appears to be inconsistent and seems very weak. Exposure to media, however, is positively and consistently associated with a small family preference. For example, women who read newspapers are 1.2 to 1.8 times more likely to prefer fewer children compared with those who do not. Similarly, women who watch television or listen to radio are more likely to prefer smaller families; currently married women with three children who listen to the radio are twice as likely to report their last birth as unwanted compared with those who do not listen to the radio regularly. Exposure to television shows an effect only for two of the indicators.

Exposure to messages about family planning is generally not associated with a preference for a smaller family and the pattern is not consistent.

6 Summary and Conclusions

In Indonesia the Total Fertility Rate has fallen from 5.6 in the period 1967-1970 to 2.8 in 1995-1997. The Indonesian family planning programs, established in 1970, have been credited with major contributions to this reduction.

The quantitative objective of the population policy in Indonesia has been to achieve replacement fertility by the year 2010-2015, as indicated by the promotion of the two-child norm. Reaching replacement level will eventually stabilize population growth, and, in fact, the population policy in Indonesia is aimed at achieving zero population growth by the year 2050.

The two-child norm has clearly been emerging in Indonesia, as indicated by the fact that nearly 40 percent of all married women regard two children as the ideal and over half of the women with two children want no more. The current fertility rate suggests that this proportion will increase in subsequent generations. In fact, some provinces in Indonesia have reached or are approaching replacement level. In Yogyakarta, DKI Jakarta, Bali, East Java, and possibly North Sulawesi the two-child average has already emerged.

In addition to provincial variation, the two important covariates of the preference for smaller families are women's education and women's exposure to mass media. Women's education appears to be positively and consistently associated with preferences for a smaller family size. This is also true for women's exposure to mass media. Over and above the effect of education, reading newspapers, watching television, and listening to radio are significantly related to a preference for the two-child family.

This analysis shows the continuing emergence and development of a two-child norm in Indonesia. Unless policy changes relax the family planning programs' strong anti-natalist policy, the goals of achieving replacement level fertility by the year 2015 and zero population growth by the year 2050 are probably not too ambitious.

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